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A Visit among the Jivaro Indians
[Ein Besuch bei den Jivaros-Indianern]

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175 At the time of the conquest of Perú by the Spanish, the empire of the Incas extended from Chile to the Rio Mayo north of Pasto. It was only in a few places, however, that this nation ever eager to conquer, succeeded in subjugating the tribes of their dominion living on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera. The nature of the country, the climate, and the nomadic way of life of the Indians set up almost insuperable difficulties for them. In the northern part of the empire, however, which had been subjugated only a short time and which now forms the republic of Ecuador, contacts had already been made with the Jívaro and Máca Indians living on the tributaries of the Amazonas. The Spaniards sought to extend their conquests in this direction too, when they had taken over the legacy of the dynasty destroyed by them. The small bands of conquistadores were not satisfied with the tremendous stretches of land that had fallen to them with comparatively little effort; they wanted to subjugate more and more new territories, to capture new riches. Soon after the founding of Quito they made an alliance with the Mácas, which was followed in a short time by a large number of expeditions. It sounds almost unbelievable when we hear that after just a few years a number of rather large cities were founded and rapidly began to flourish. Merely in the region of interest to us here the cities of Mendoza on the Rio Palora, Sevilla del Oro on the Rio Upano, and Logroño on the Rio Paute were founded in the year 1552. The wealth of gold and the ease of acquisition drew large numbers of settlers; monasteries were endowed and churches built, and the district of Mácas was soon considered one of the richest and most prosperous of the great Peruvian empire.

101 175 Three Indian tribes, of which only one exists today, are mentioned as inhabitants of the extensive forests on the eastern slope of the Cordillera between the Pastaza and Paute rivers. They are the Mácas, Huamboyas, and Jívaros. The first two seem not to have been very large; the Jívaros formed, and still form today, a large nation, which, to be sure, is made up of many individual tribes living in enmity for the most part, but which nevertheless /326/ join together against a common enemy and can order up a considerable number of fighters.

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As in all parts of South America conquered by the Spaniards, the Indians here, too, were forced into slave labor; the exploitation of the gold mines was carried out in a ruthless manner. But the independent forest dwellers did not suffer such oppression with the same patience as the Indians of the high country. A rebellion broke out in 1599, which ended in the destruction of the whole province and even tore the neighboring regions far to the north and south away from Spanish dominion. All the Jívaros joined together for common action under Quiruba, one of their leaders, and the Mácas and Huamboyas were also induced to participate. At the same time the three above-mentioned cities were to be destroyed. Quiruba made a surprise attack on Logroño, destroyed the city, killed all the men falling into his hands, only a few of whom escaped, and made captives of the women and girls, 6,000 in number. Sevilla del Oro and Mendoza escaped the same fate only because of the hesitancy of the neighboring Mácas and Huamboyas. Quiruba himself hurried forth to attack. But the news of his victory had already reached the two cities. The inhabitants of Logroño fled and the abandoned city was left to be destroyed. The battle raged around Mácas. Although the Jívaros were not completely successful in destroying the place and had to yield to the approaching reinforcements, their rebellion had spread such terror that the surviving inhabitants retreated to the highlands, and thereafter, in place of the wealthy Sevilla del Oro, only the tiny spot Mácas could be maintained.

Since all attempts to win back the lost territories by force of arms were unsuccessful, there was recourse to the cross in order to bend the Indians again under the yoke of slavery by this apparently gentle means. The missionaries were successful among some tribes, but the Jívaros turned away all intruders and have maintained their freedom up to our time. Only the small mission of Mácas, inhabited by the Quichua Indians, is located in their territory, and neither the secular clergy nor the Jesuit fathers, who have alternately tried their luck there, have been successful in making converts.

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175 Only rarely have the Jfvaros been visited by scholarly
177 travelers, so our knowledge of this tribe is based chiefly on Spanish reports. The most competent expert is probably Spruce, who lived for a long time in their region and penetrated farther
114 than most other travelers. In the case of a people so little known, I may dare to hope that the observations of a traveler whose studies were somewhat remote from ethnology will be of some interest despite their inadequacy and will secure me the indulgence of the honored assembly for the following remarks.

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The bulk of the population of the republic of Ecuador lives in the high mountains of the Cordillera in the part of the range designated in Spanish America as tierra fria. Bleak and bare, the inhabited part of the highlands, in which most of the towns are located at a height between about 2,200 and 3,000 meters, is easily accessible for civilization. Rough, high mountain chains surround this not very productive land, whereas dense, immeasurable forests cover the eastern and western slopes of the Cordillera. To the west there is contact with the coast and the provinces found there, but a visit to the few settlements located on the eastern slope of the principal mountain chain has always been considered a difficult and daring undertaking. The dreaded East Cordillera must be crossed on the worst routes, and then there is a long march full of hardships through the forest, during which large rivers have to be crossed, the flooding of which often exposes the travelers to death from hunger. Mácas is probably the easiest of all these places to reach, since a quite considerable part of the way is passable by mule.

133 Riobamba, the capital of the Provincia del Chimborazo, is the point of departure for the journey. One follows upstream the Rio Chambo, coming from the south, which in its upper parts is called Rio de Cebadas and Rio Colay. The river, originating near the ridge of the East Cordillera, joins at the foot of the Tunguragua the Rio de Patate coming from the north, from Cotopaxi, and then, turning eastward, breaks through the Cordillera and flows

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133 to the Amazonas as the Rio Pastaza. Our route soon leaves the highland of Riobamba, formed by the masses from volcanic eruptions which fill the deep depression between the ridges of the east and west Cordillera, which were built up out of older rock. The bipartition of the Cordillera disappears almost completely. The river cuts through at Cebadas, the last village, on the dividing line between syenite and mica schist, and higher up its bed lies wholly in the latter rock. The higher we climb, the narrower and wilder the gorge becomes, cultivated fields disappear, and in their place comes the tall páramo grass, the ichu of the natives. Toward the end of the second day of travel there appear in the background of the valley high, jagged peaks whose black ridges and crests tower up out of blinding white snowfields. These are the Cerros de Zhasquin, Yanaurcu, and Púlpito, which represent here the highest elevations of the East Cordillera. Suddenly the character of the valley changes: the narrow gorge turns into a wide basin filled with swamps and lakes, surrounded on both sides by high greenstone cliffs, almost open toward the east, since an almost imperceptible rise forms the watershed between two small lakes, Cazadoracocha and Cocha redonda, the first of which, in conjunction with Colaycocha, is the source of the Rio de Ichubamba, whose valley we have followed to this point, whereas the latter drains to the east as a tributary /328/ of the Rio Upano. At the entrance to this flat highland valley, whose whole configuration reminds one of the lakes at the source of the Inn and along the Maloya Pass, there are a few wretched huts: Atillo, at an altitude of 3,452 meters, inhabited only from time to time. The lakes Colaycocha and Cazadoracocha are at about the same level, and the watershed extends only to a height of 3,548 meters, whereas the surrounding mountains tower to a
132 height of about 4,300 meters. This region is unbelievably desolate and dismal; wrapped in rain and clouds almost the whole year, only occasional stunted tree-like underbrush grows here among the large areas of grass; the trade winds blow icy cold the greater part of the year. An average annual temperature of 8.8° C. in a country located so close to the equator is evidence

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132 of an inhospitable climate, the unpleasantness of which is heightened even more by the abundance of moisture which, rising from the plains of the Amazonas, falls here on the high mountains. Even the Indian, who otherwise loves the high páramos, stays here only a short time. The huts of Atillo serve the inhabitants of the small village of Suñag, located on the downward slope toward Mácas, as a sort of temporary shelter on their journeys to maintain the mission's contacts with the capital, Riobamba.

132 136 The Ecuadorian speaks of Atillo, of Colaycocha, and of the pass to Mácas only with a mysterious horror; poisonous vapors are said to rise from the small lakes, so that every bird flying over them falls dead. The dead birds are said to be found by the thousands on the shores of the lakes, especially of Cazadoracocha, which for this reason has retained the name of Hunter's Lake. Armed with baskets and sacks, the Indians go out to collect the fallen animals in order to sell them in the neighboring cities. This is one of those mysterious tales which, like the marvelous story of the fish spewed out of the volcanoes, can be traced to poorly observed facts, distorted by exaggeration and misunderstanding. That is, in Ecuador, as in almost all of South America, there is a number of snipe, ibis, and heron-like migratory birds which leave the hot country with the onset of good weather in order to seek their nourishment in the highlands. With the onset of bad weather they then return again to the hot country. These birds appear in masses in May or early June and stay until September. The animals seek the lowest passes to cross the Cordillera. Thus they follow the course of the Río Cebadas in order to cross the watershed, lying between high mountains, toward the east near Colay and Cazadoracocha. In September, however, the trade winds, which press through the narrow pass with terrible force, often rage with hurricane-like violence. The force of the wind, which frequently a horseman can hardly withstand, throws back the birds, rising from the protected valley floor, as soon as they reach the top of the pass. The stronger animals can force their way through, but many of the weaker and smaller birds /329/ are overcome by

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132 the ice-cold wind, often driving hail and snow in front of it.
136 Exhausted by the many vain attempts, they meet their death in the lake, piling up on its shores.

I crossed this pass in the best season, in the month of
132 December, but even then the Indians accompanying me, in
114 spite of the fact that all had been accustomed to mountain climbing for a long time, suffered from the penetrating cold and wetness.

One has hardly reached the end of the swampy highland
133 valley and climbed the low ridge to the side of the Cocha redonda when the whole scene changes abruptly. One stands at the edge of a steep cliff, over whose wall a brook flowing from the above-mentioned Cocha falls in a high waterfall, a deep gorge filled with dark-green forest lies at our feet, and stunted trees go up as far as the edge of the pass. One imagines the spicy air and mild temperature of the warm country and feels invigorated; even the Indian, already dejected and stiff with cold, takes fresh courage at the sight of the montaña, the land of wondrous fertility. One descends steeply in zigzags along the cliff wall, the waterfalls are crossed several times, until the first valley floor is reached. The vegetation becomes more luxuriant with every step; we find ourselves in the zone which Pöppig portrayed so excellently in his description of the Ceja. We found Suñag (2,688 meters), a small village consisting of 15-20 wooden huts and a chapel, deserted; all the inhabitants had gone farther down the valley to harvest maize at Chanala (2,470 meters), Chillan, Puentehondo. The six or seven houses which make up the village of Paira (1,617 meters) lie two short days of travel farther down in the valley. The foot of the steep mountains has been reached here; only elongated hills continue to the east. The rivers, still rapid, to be sure, become broad and even navigable for short stretches;
491 an immense forest area stretches out before one's eyes. Up to here we found the brooks, which were difficult to cross, bridged over, although the liana bridges, serving as a model for our suspension bridges, sometimes offered crossings which appeared

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491 dangerous. Farther down, however, the rivers had to be waded, for the Jesuits, in order to make access to their mission more difficult, had pulled down the bridges formerly present and had taken the canoes used for ferrying into Mácas into their own custody.

000 Mácas, 1,051 meters above sea level, with an average annual temperature of 20.8°C., is located on a small plateau in the midst of the forest; a large, quadrangular area, the plaza, has been cleared of trees. The church, built of tall, column-like palm trunks, the convento, i.e., the dwelling of the priests, and the school lie on one side; the other three sides are bounded by forest. The place has about 300 inhabitants, counting women and children, but extends over a large area, since the houses lie scattered individually in the forest, often quite far from one another. The inhabitants of Mácas, as well as those of Paira and Suñag, are Quechua Indians, that is, they speak the Quechua language, /330/ are Christians in name, and live under the control of the clerical or secular officials of the republic of Ecuador, whose despotism and oppression they do not resist at all. Jesuit rule at the time of my visit was unlimited: corporal punishment was meted out for the slightest transgression; every word that did not breathe the deepest servility and reverence was mercilessly punished, and every denunciation of such a transgression received most obligingly. Trade and agriculture languished; contact with the civilized part of the country had been cut off, and even intercourse with the neighboring wild

186 Indians was strictly forbidden. This small community lived
797 in deep resentment under their priestly tyrant; the Jívaros, however, looked upon the inhabitants with disdain for putting up with such unworthy treatment and scornfully rejected every attempt to convert them to the Christian religion.

361 As has already been mentioned, Mácas lies deep in the territory of the Jívaros. Everywhere in the forest, indeed hardly a quarter of an hour away from Mácas, lie their large tambos.
[487] Narrow paths lead through the dense forest, and, following them, one quite suddenly and without any previous signs of civilization comes upon the open plaza surrounding the house. Each house

/330 cont./ Each house

361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
342 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
324 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
346 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
[721] tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jivaro steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beautifully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms; the rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved out of wood take the place of chairs; low benches made out of split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar in that there is space on them for the body only about to the knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
354 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously.

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354 [825] almost scorching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes, which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the 342 [353] tambo is kitchen, dining room, and common living room, in which pots and utensils are kept in the best order. Finally, in the semicircular, bulging part located at the back are the bedrooms of the families. A number of beds, similar to the couch 352 342 described above, each with a fire probably kept going all night, are placed symmetrically along the side walls. Each individual bed is bounded on three sides by rather high bamboo walls and open only toward the foot end, so that small sleeping cells, [353] so to speak, independent of one another, are formed. Each person living in the house has his own cell, on the walls of which is hung his private property, in the case of women cosmetic articles and ornaments in particular, packed carefully 342 in decorative bags. What is most striking during a visit to such 352 a house is the cleanliness and neatness with which the whole is maintained. everything stands in its particular place, is readily and surely available, and at the same time is fixed in such a way that it serves to decorate the room. -- The floor is level and tamped hard, like a threshing floor, and is absolutely clean. When I let some cigar ashes fall during my visit, one of the women came immediately to sweep the floor clean again. Not all the houses are equally large and stately; the same strict order and cleanliness which I have just tried to describe do not prevail in all, but even the dwellings that are not maintained as well seem an enviable stopping place to the traveler who has languished in the dirt of Hispano-American housekeeping for years.

515 The people are as clean as the dwellings, but this luxury in a warm climate among half-wild people is less expensive than among us. In general, it is sufficient that the whole family goes in the morning to the neighboring brook for a bath, for clothing 291 plays a very subordinate role. The men wear a cloth about two and a half spans wide, called itipe, around their loins, which is usually held fast by a broad belt (acachulu) plaited out of human hair. The women are wrapped in a larger cloth (tarachu) which

/331 cont./

29/ extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/

299 These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such,
29/ are made by the Jivaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed
336 the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the
256 value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time
302 to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very
63/ vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a hand provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it
502 one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an
52/ inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depres-
413 sions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder
[386 is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the
237] hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which re-
[quires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradu-
531 ally becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and
] resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other
[hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this
386] purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and
[412] the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a
[422] comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his
30/ wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women
304 usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced ear-lobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucum) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used.

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preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies, disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotiations, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage is kept holy, in the case of adultery the husband has the right to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes residence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

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practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Because of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war reduced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention. That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is soundlessly tranversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in con- [231] nection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately 411 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/ is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadiness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[727] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation. This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used, until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
[784] Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[264] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336 A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Many

/336 cont./ Master

133 of water, created by the melting of glaciers after the outbreak of
[731] a new stream of lava, have reached the low country of Mácas
and caused terrible destruction. These districts are also not in-
[823] frequently plagued by earthquakes. Thus the Indian knows from
his own experience the far-reaching, fearful power of the
volcano, which he venerates with only shy reverence from a
distance.

I should like to remark here that it is not, as is some-
times maintained, the inner heat of the Sangay or the bottom-
less masses of ashes which prevent climbing; on the contrary,
the essential and sole difficulty lies in the magnificent glaciation
of the steep cone, which extends down to 4,300 meters above sea
level.

197 The language of the Jívaros is essentially different from
Quechua, so that the Indians of Riobamba could not make them-
selves understood. It sounds beautiful and has a certain masculine
302 seriousness. For counting, the five fingers of the hand are used
as a base, then one hand + 1, etc. To what extent higher num-
ber concepts are present I could not find out through my untrained
interpreters.

177 I should like to be permitted to add in conclusion a few
668 words about the future of these Indians and the possibility of
making our culture accessible to them -- Civilizatory attempts
were never undertaken by the Spanish or Hispano-American
parties. In all attempts of this type it was always only a matter
of the subjugation and exploitation of the Indians. The Jívaros
understand this well and therefore resist any intrusion in their
territory. The Ecuadorians can /337/ accomplish nothing by force.
If the Indians are left to themselves, however, they will, as I
have shown in the description of the warfare, gradually destroy
themselves. After what I have seen among the Jívaros, it does
not seem at all too difficult to me to fit this people into our
cultural development. Intelligent, ambitious, vain, and en-
dowed with a sense for clean, orderly housekeeping, it would be
easy to increase their needs by the gradual introduction of
European industrial products, to evoke the desire to acquire

337 cont. /

more comforts and, through that, increased production and efficiency as countervail. With more possessions the difficulty of frequently changing domiciles would increase; the desire to enjoy what was acquired would quench the eagerness for war. If one would sufficiently supply those living around the mission with iron goods and other desirable products, they would quickly gain ascendancy over the less-favored tribes, either by force or by advantageous barter; they would be a living wall of protection for the colony, without which its existence would be endangered. It should be possible, with kindness and true humanity, to educate the Jivaros to become useful members of human society, whereas under the circumstances now prevailing their slow, to be sure, but nevertheless certain decline is unavoidable.